Build a Labor Party Now!

THE MILITANT

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Anti-Trucks Law Victory Scored By SWP in Suit

DETROIT, Feb. 23 — The Attorney General of Michigan, who set out in 1952 to smear the Socialist Workers Party and to bar it from the ballot through the reactionary Trucks Law, has been forced to back down — at least temporarily.

That is the main significance of the dismissal order signed last Friday by Wayne County Circuit Judge Lila M. Neuenfelt.

The Socialist Workers Party had gone into court seeking an order to restrain Attorney General Millard and other Michigan officials from enforcing the Trucks Law, the "Michigan Communist Control Law" which was passed in 1952 and used in an attempt to bar the SWP from the ballot. Another objective of the suit was to get the Trucks Law declared unconstitutional.

Reluctant to fight the SWP suit to a conclusion, Millard delayed it as long as possible, and then introduced a motion to have it dismissed.

In order to achieve this, however, he had to make some damaging statements that were incorporated into the dismissal order. One was:

"The Attorney General of this State, as of the date of this interlocutory order, has made no determination nor has he conducted a hearing to determine whether the Socialist Workers Party of Michigan, one of the plaintiffs herein, is a communist front organization within the meaning of that term as defined by the legislature in section 4 of the Michigan Communist Control Law, nor does he deem at the present time that he has sufficient proof to establish the fact, if it exists, that any of the plaintiffs, individually or collectively, are communists, communist front organizations, or members thereof within the meaning of said law."

A RETREAT

This marks a definite retreat by the Attorney General. One of the first things he did in 1952 after the Trucks Law was enacted was to rule that the SWP came under the provisions of the law

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FARRELL DOBBS

Trucks Victory Hits McCarthyism Dobbs Declares

NEW YORK, Feb. 24 — Farrell Dobbs, national secretary of the Socialist Workers Party and one of the plaintiffs in the SWP suit against the Trucks Law in Michigan, today greeted the partial victory against the law won in the Wayne County Circuit Court as "a blow against McCarthyism, a vindication for the Socialist Workers Party, and an encouragement to continue the fight until the thought-control Trucks Law will be wiped off the statute books."

The Michigan Attorney General, Dobbs said, "by admitting that he doesn't have proof in 1954 to support his 1952 charges of 'subversion' against the SWP, has exposed the frameup nature of those charges and of the U.S. Attorney General's 'subversive' list, on which those charges were based."

The credit for this "setback to the witch hunt," said Dobbs, "belongs not only to the SWP but also to the excellent work of the nonpartisan Citizens Committee Against the Trucks Law, to the Michigan CIO and the Michigan Federation of Labor (AFL) which denounced the law, and to the other organizations and individuals who supported our suit and demanded that the law be declared unconstitutional or repealed.

"The only legal action against the Trucks Law that is now before the courts is the suit filed by the Communist Party. We hope and urge that the organizations which aided our suit, despite their political differences with us, will join us in supporting the Communist Party's suit, despite our political differences with them, as a vehicle for getting the Trucks Act declared unconstitutional."

Labor Should Lead the Fight On McCarthy, Says N.Y. CIO

M'Carthy Shows Power In Bid to Control Army

By George Breitman

"Senator McCarthy this afternoon achieved what General Burgoyne and General Cornwallis never achieved — the surrender of the American Army." — Washington correspondent of the London Times, Feb. 25.

Secretary of the Army Stevens could not have surrendered "more abjectly if he had got down on his knees." — McCarthy to a reporter, Feb. 25.

"Senator McCarthy was asked whether he agreed with Senator Dirksen that Mr. Stevens had not surrendered. 'I agree with that,' he said with a big grin on his face. 'It was just a case of reaching an agreement.' Surreptitiously, he kicked a correspondent in the shins as he made the statement." — N. Y. Times, Feb. 26.

After the "agreement" with Stevens, McCarthy "offers wanderers in the Capitol corridors Army commissions if they want them." — Alsops, Feb. 28.

"Officers of the Army in particular were in a state of incredulous shock. The general mood at the Pentagon was gloomy and bitter." — N. Y. Times, Feb. 26.

"In Washington the next morning, the atmosphere suggests Berlin after the Reichstag fire with Stevens in the role of Van Der Lubbe, the dullwitted Dutchman who committed the arson; with Eisenhower as the aging Hindenburg and with Hitler played by you-know-who." — Alsops, Feb. 28.

"Okay, Bud. When I want you again I'll send for you." — Caption on Herblock cartoon showing Stevens offering McCarthy his sword, Feb. 26.

* * *

McCarthy's growing arrogance has a solid base — it parallels the steady growth of his power and of the dismay, demoralization and discreditment of his Republican and Democratic opponents. The white flag run up by the Pentagon marks the greatest success he has recorded in his drive to McCarthyize the government bureaucracy and take over the Republican Party and convert it into an instrument to further his ambition to become the first fascist President of the United States.

Almost the entire capitalist press cheered wildly when Secretary Stevens promised to back up a general who was threatened and insulted by McCarthy for obeying executive orders not to discuss certain information about the Army's purge of a dentist accused of "communist" associations.

This time McCarthy had gone too far, the press exulted. The morale of the armed forces was at stake, and this time the Eisenhower administration would have to stand up to McCarthy and tell him, "Thus far, and no farther," etc., etc.

But all McCarthy had to do was stand firm and talk tough. Stevens was summoned to a meeting with the Republican members of McCarthy's committee. "Thrice McCarthy threatens to leave the room and split the Republican party wide open there and then." (Alsops, Feb. 28) Stevens capitulated, endorsing a written "Memorandum of Understanding" which granted McCarthy everything he demanded. In return Stevens claimed he had an unwritten promise that McCarthy would stop browbeating Army officers. When he told this to the press, McCarthy publicly called him a liar. Stevens, sobbing, said he might have to resign until Eisenhower assured him it wasn't necessary.

The cheers of the press vanished. If they didn't exactly sob, the editorials expressed anguish, mournfulness and fear. Eisenhower had let them down. Stevens had said, "Thus far, and perhaps a little farther." They hoped the

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Their Frankenstein Monster

We reprint the above especially appropriate cartoon from the Sept. 22, 1952, issue of The Militant on the occasion of our celebration of the 10th anniversary of Laura Gray's first cartoon for this paper, published on March 4, 1944. On Page 2 we reprint other examples of her famous cartoons, some of which have been reproduced around the world. Also on Page 2 are a number of tributes to our Laura from all parts of the country.

Resolution Cites Peril Of Fascism

By Joseph Keller

Aroused by the growing power of McCarthyite fascism, as demonstrated in the Wisconsin senator's bold moves to bring the Pentagon under his control, the New York City CIO Council on Feb. 25 unanimously adopted a resolution calling upon the "national CIO to organize and lead this fight to preserve the basic American liberties from destruction."

Recognizing that labor is the only force in America which can smash McCarthyism, the largest local CIO Council in America also calls on all its own local affiliates to "organize and lead the fight against McCarthy and the people who would subvert and destroy our basic American freedoms."

"DAY OF INFAMY"

The council's resolution described Wednesday, Feb. 24, 1954, as "a 'Day of Infamy.'" For on that day "our country witnessed the ignominious surrender of the American Army and the Government of the United States to that most dangerous demagogue, Senator Joseph McCarthy of Wisconsin."

The resolution declares: "No longer can we sit idly by and watch the antics of McCarthy and his Republican cohorts without realizing that our basic liberties are in mortal danger." It therefore points to the need for the CIO and the labor movement to take the lead in the fight.

SILENT ON DEMOCRATS

The leaders of the Council did not see fit to point out that the Democratic party leaders, including its so-called "fair dealers" like Senator Lehman, have capitulated to McCarthy just as ignominiously as Eisenhower and Secretary of the Army Stevens. **Lehman and his fellow "liberal" Senators voted for the funds to fuel McCarthy's offensive to "smash" the unions, as Westbrook Pegler stated the fascist aim in a recent column.**

The resolution also contains a grave weakness in complaining that McCarthy "is not fighting an honest battle against communism." Here the New York City CIO Council is falling into the McCarthyite trap. The instant you accept McCarthy's premise that "communism is a menace," then McCarthy can make mincemeat of your complaints about his methods. This is the very reason why Democrats and Republicans who are ostensibly against McCarthy's methods, crumble under his first blow.

SIGNIFICANT STAND

Nevertheless, the stand of the New York City CIO is extremely significant in pointing to the only source of effective leadership and struggle against McCarthyism. Organized labor, which is really the main target of fascism, is the only power that can smash McCarthy's drive to become the American Hitler.

This power can be effectively mobilized, however, only if it is independent of the old-line capitalist parties and politicians. It is necessary for labor to prepare for a life-and-death battle for power in America against the capitalist cohorts of fascism.

Here, the New York City CIO could have struck a more telling blow if it had urged the formation of labor's own party. Reliance on the old parties or any sector of them to put up a serious fight against onrushing McCarthyism is a policy of suicide.

The CIO Council's resolution spoke of the "startling parallel" between the McCarthyite developments and "recent European history," including that of Germany and Italy. **The most startling is precisely the reliance on "lesser evil" capitalist politicians, instead of labor's own organized might.**

CITIZENS GROUP HAILS DECISION IN SWP CASE

DETROIT, Feb. 22—The Citizens' Committee Against the Trucks Law today hailed the agreement in Circuit Court arising out of the Trucks Act suit. In a statement released by Chairman Rev. I. Paul Taylor and Secretary-Treasurer Ernest Mazey, the Committee stated:

The agreement signed in Circuit Court between Attorney General Millard of the State of Michigan, and attorneys Bernard Probe and Jesse R. Bacalis in behalf of the Socialist Workers Party, represents a considerable victory in the fight to maintain our freedom and civil liberties.

The Attorney General's admission that the Socialist Workers Party is neither "communist" nor "subversive" under the meaning of the act, and the declaration of the State that it will not interfere with the ballot rights of the party or its individual candidates, is in sharp contrast to the attitude of the State when the Trucks Law was enacted two years ago.

At that time, State Director of Elections Edward Frey declared, "In view of the impending law, we must see that no organization inclined toward socialism is given a place on the ballot." Immediately, the Socialist Workers Party was banned from the ballot for the 1952 presidential election, even though it had complied with the requirements of the election laws.

Since that time, mounting public protests and difficulties in obtaining court approval for this undemocratic law have compelled the State to retreat from this arbitrary position. Moreover, the State has found it necessary to revise and amend portions of the Act. The amendments were designed to tighten up the law to improve the chances of court action favorable to the state. They do not mitigate the dangers of the Act.

The Citizens' Committee Against the Trucks Law believes that this agreement and the retreat by the State is an important victory for all the people of Michigan. We feel proud that our Committee, by its organized educational and publicity work, has been able to help in this fight.

However, our satisfaction is qualified by the fact that the Trucks Act, with its loose and vague definitions and its arbitrary procedures patterned after police state systems, remains on the statute books.

We hold with Judge Theodore Levin who, in his dissenting opinion in Federal Court, said "This act, if allowed to stand, will contribute to the creation in this country of that phenomenon so familiar in totalitarian countries — the public advocacy on the part of law-abiding citizens of a stereotyped political ideology and the stifling of the kind of free inquiry and investigation that has characterized the growth of our democracy."

He also said that the Trucks Act is "an arbitrary exercise of police powers that by unnecessary interference with the guarantees of free speech and assembly, violate the due process clause of the Fourteenth Amendment."

While the Circuit Court agreement narrows the field of the law's application, the law itself remains as a continuing threat to our civil liberties. We are determined to continue our efforts in opposition to the law, confident that it will be declared unconstitutional.

We wish to thank all supporters of our past efforts, and to pledge our continued activity until the law is stricken from the statute books of the State of Michigan.

A panel discussion on the topic: "Is McCarthyism a Threat to American Freedom?," scheduled to be held in a Valley Stream, N. Y. public school, was cancelled by order of the District Board of Education.

First Report On My Tour

By Murry Weiss

PITTSBURGH, Feb. 20 — Pittsburgh is the division point between the Eastern and Midwestern part of my tour. I arrived here Thursday with a group of comrades who drove down from Buffalo with me.

It was late in the evening when we reached the steel center. The glow of the open hearth furnaces touched up the hills. The Buffalo comrades told me that the nights were brighter in the years of full capacity production. Now many of the furnaces are banked. Production is down below 80%; and in Youngstown, 70 miles northwest, it is below 70%.

Pittsburgh is a good place to look back at the first leg of the tour. It's been 15 years since I was here. Much has happened since that time and much has changed. But many things seem the same. We were deep in a "recession" the last time I was here in 1939.

I was reminded of this when we stopped at a restaurant on the outskirts of town and picked up a paper, the Pittsburgh Press. It was full of "optimistic" speculations on how the economic decline, which has struck with such force at the steel industry, is "leveling off."

Meantime, the officially acknowledged number of unemployed in this key industry grows from month to month. The "leveling off" talk is just that — talk.

Later when we met the Pittsburgh comrades they showed me a front-page story in another daily paper about my meeting. There was the usual garbled account of what the Socialist Workers Party is and what it stands for, but the comrades were justifiably gratified with the results of their forceful publicity campaign.

And the meeting we held the following night fully rewarded their serious efforts. The audience was a representative cross section. There were workers from steel, unemployed, Negroes, and some students.

The hard work in preparing the meeting was matched by close attention to all the details of planning a successful meeting — decorations, literature, and the arrangements for an informal social affair following the meeting. It went off very well. The question-and-discussion period carried over to the social part of the evening.

All the meetings thus far have been distinguished by this high level of organizing effort. One has to travel through the branches on a tour to appreciate fully the accumulated know-how and organizational skill of our cadres.

So far I have had meetings in Newark, Philadelphia, Lynn, Boston, Buffalo and Pittsburgh.

My first meeting was in Newark. It was very instructive to me. I found the deepest interest in the problem of unemployment and its relation to the threat of McCarthyism. Actually I have been speaking on McCarthyism

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"30 for 40" Program Wins Growing Support

The movement for a 30-hour week at 40 hours' pay to combat unemployment is gathering momentum. This program, first proposed in the Militant, is being widely discussed in labor circles and union publications and is gaining new advocates.

In the CIO United Automobile Workers, the powerful Ford Local 600, Flint Chevrolet Local 659 and the California General Motors locals have been hitting hard on this issue for several months. Favorable discussion on "30 for 40" also appears in the Feb. issue of the Voice of Local 212, newspaper of the union of the former largest Briggs plant now incorporated into Chrysler.

"FIERCER COMPETITION"

Frank Marquart, Education Director of Local 212, in a column on technological unemployment through automation, reports: **"A growing movement for 30 hours a week with 40 hours pay may soon be just as logical as the movement for the eight-hour day was back in 1886."**

Citing the effort of the corporations to maintain high profits by cutting labor costs through eliminating workers, Marquart says: "The fiercer the competition the more intense the drive for reducing labor costs. This is why General Motors is going to spend one to two billion dollars over the next two years to modernize its plants. Ford will spend 600 million dollars for the same purpose. Chrysler bought the Briggs plants to improve its competitive position and millions of dollars will be spent to improve all Chrysler plants."

RAISED IN UPWA

This problem of automation combined with the economic downturn that has increased national unemployment to between 4,500,000 and 5,000,000 workers, has brought the issue of "30 for 40" even into an industry like meatpacking. "Aim for 30 hr. Week — 40 hr. Pay" is the banner headline over a statement in the Feb. Packinghouse Worker by Harold Nielsen, Director of District 1, CIO United Packinghouse Workers.

Nielsen cites a previous article by UPW sec. Treas. Hathaway, entitled, "Here Come the Machines, What Is UPWA Policy?" that poses the problems of technological improvements, speed-up and unemployment. Pointing out that the union does not oppose technological improvements, Nielson states that nevertheless if the present trend of wiping out jobs continues, "we may well find a goodly portion of our members classified as D.P.s." He therefore urges the program that "must be pressed for with every means at our disposal if we are to safeguard our people against mass unemployment and its damaging effect upon our whole economy.

"We have said, for instance, that a 30 hour week with 40 hours pay would be a desirable thing; and we have also said that, as a matter of plain right and justice, any benefits accruing to any employer by reason of the introduction of new machines should be shared by the employees."

MAJOR GOAL OF UNION

The "major goal of this union," insists Nielsen, should be "a 40 hour pay check for 30 hours work and a fair share of the packers' profits for our people."

Supporting the imperative need to fight for "30 for 40" is the latest figures on unemployment insurance claims. Such claims rose to 2,179,000 in mid-Feb., by far the highest since the Feb. 1950 peak of 2,400,000, when official unemployment figures reached 4,684,000.

Still 'Last Hired And First Fired'

Racial discrimination in employment has been accentuated by growing unemployment, declared Walter White, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, to the Senate Labor Committee hearing, Feb. 25, on an FEPC bill.

The NAACP leader cited a U.S. Census report indicating that unemployment among Negro men was twice that among white males in January.

"So far as they [Negro workers] are concerned the depression which many persons discuss from an academic standpoint is now here. . . In January the Census figure for unemployment was 3.5 per cent for the white population and 6.1 per cent for the colored. It was even worse among colored male workers because unemployment among them was 7 per cent as compared with 3.5 per cent for white men."

CIO President Walter Reuther said the need for federal fair employment practices legislation "is greater and more urgent now than it has ever been in the past" because of the economic situation.

Notebook of an Agitator

In Honor of Laura Gray

People who never talk themselves up don't always escape the encomiastic comments of others. This is happening right now in the case of Laura Gray, in whose honor the New York Local of the SWP is throwing a party on the occasion of her tenth anniversary as staff cartoonist of the Militant. This is really a nation-wide affair. The New York Local is staging the celebration, but all the members of the party and all the readers of the Militant are present with you in spirit. And we are all saying, **"Thank you, Laura; Laura, you're wonderful."**

The proletarian movement takes great pride in its intellectuals and artists; all the more so, since, under the present conditions of the struggle in this country, it can boast so few of them. There is a reason for this scarcity, but there is also a reason why we count on its remedy. The revolutionary workers and the artists need each other, and their union will be a certain consequence of new developments in the coming stages of our struggle for Socialist America.

In our present class society, the intellectuals and the artists don't get a fair chance. By themselves, they are weak. They are not a self-sufficient class, but rather a selection of exceptional people, who in seeking to realize themselves — which means, first of all, to be themselves — require the support of a class which represents a power.

Nearly all of them, at the present time, are consciously or unconsciously servants of the ruling power of the dominant class of exploiters, and depend on its patronage. But they pay a price for this allegiance which strikes at their very reason for being. Their inner compulsion is to portray reality, to tell the truth as they see it. But this inner compulsion runs up against the contradiction that the class society, which is founded on lies, has no use for the truth and savagely persecutes those who portray it.

The Artist's Bread of Life

This places the artist before a cruel dilemma. He needs freedom above everything — the freedom "to draw the thing as he sees it"; that is the artist's bread of life. The denial of this right turns the artist's bread into a stone. But there is nothing he can do about it by himself.

The so-called "ivory tower" is not a place of refuge but of exile from the real world. The salvation of the artist is to ally himself with a power which will permit him to do his work — that is, to live and be his real self — and protect and sustain him in its performance. There is such a power, and the artist should recognize it and seek alliance with it. That is the modern working class, represented by its conscious vanguard, whose cause is served only by truth. By that fact, it is the natural ally and protector of all truth-seekers, among whom the artist stands in first place. The alliance of the true artist with the labor movement is the condition for his own emancipation.

If the artist needs the labor movement, no less does the labor movement need the artist. The workers need not only the crude truth which is the ugly reality of their daily existence. They need also the truth which illuminates and inspires, which elevates and ennobles, the truth which shines with a blinding light, the light which only the artist can give. It is a lucky day when our movement finds such a person. And it is the part of wisdom, as well as of gratitude, to cherish the alliance and to celebrate it, as you are doing tonight at the party for Laura Gray.

On Sandstone Prison

I don't doubt that Laura made her first appearance in the office of the Militant so quietly and unobtrusively — as is her manner — that scarcely anyone noticed her in the busy hubbub in which a paper always goes to press. But she came into Sandstone Prison, where some of us were residing at the time, with a clatter and a bang. Her first cartoon scattered the gray shadows of the prison like the powerful headlight of a locomotive rolling down the right of way. Every week thereafter we looked for her cartoons, and they brightened the prison day each time they came.

The readers of the Militant everywhere, immersed in the prosaic details of everyday life and the routine tasks of the struggle for a better world, have greeted her weekly drawings with the same gratitude and enthusiasm; and have derived from them the same inspiration, the same anticipatory glimpse of a better world wherein all people will express themselves better, more completely, in more effective communion with others; that is to say, more artistically.

I speak of this as an anticipation. For in the socialist society of the free and equal, all will be artists; all will have the means and the opportunity, and the favorable social environment, to tap their springs of talent and their instinct for self-expression in artistic form, which are today hidden, suppressed and denied. The true artists, who feel impelled to draw the true picture of life as they see it, not only as it is but as it ought to be and will be, can find the fullest freedom for the exercise of this impulse today only in alliance with the great labor movement, which is forcing its way, through the blood and filth of capitalist society, to the new world of truth and beauty. In particular, the revolutionary party, which represents the conscious element of this great movement, is the natural ally of the aspiring artist.

Many of them will come to us in the future, and if we are wise we will receive them gladly. Our Laura, cartoonist for the Militant, is the advance guard, the harbinger of the poets and artists to come. In honoring her, on the occasion of her tenth anniversary on the staff of the Militant, we are honoring the paper, the party and ourselves. And we are honoring, at the same time, the coming grand alliance of revolutionists and artists in the great battle wherein no one can fail.

— James P. Cannon

Hail 10 Years of Laura Gray's Cartoons

NEW YORK, Feb. 28 — Laura Gray, the Militant's powerful cartoonist, was guest of honor last evening at a dinner and celebration at the Militant hall here on the occasion of the 10th anniversary of her first Militant cartoon, published March 4, 1944. She was warmly acclaimed by a host of friends and comrades.

The main feature of the affair was Laura's own cartoons, some outstanding examples of which, enlarged and mounted on white backgrounds, were displayed around the hall. At the end of the dinner, these were auctioned off for contributions of from $5 to $15 each.

Laura made one of her very rare talks. It was typically modest and brief. She thanked the comrades for their expression of appreciation and added: "The privilege has been all mine."

"TRULY WORTHY"

Reba Aubrey, as chairman, read telegrams and letters from Socialist Workers Party groups and Militant readers in all parts of the country expressing their well-wishes and their appreciation for Laura's artistic achievements.

"The Militant, in my opinion, is the finest working-class paper ever published — bar none. And in Laura, the Militant has found a political artist truly worthy of it. That is the biggest compliment I can pay her," said Art Preis, staff member of the paper, who was main speaker.

"Laura Gray is the supreme political artist and cartoonist of this supremely political age,' the speaker said. "That is why I think it important that I recall for the record — the historical record — how Laura came to be the Militant cartoonist. It is an instructive and inspiring story."

PARTY ACTIVIST

She was recruited into the Chicago Local of the SWP in early 1942 by organizer Dave Weiss, recalled the speaker. "I vividly recollect the first time I ever saw Laura. It was at a regular membership meeting of the Chicago branch back in July 1942. That evening I was attending the branch meeting for the first time as the new organizer.

"I studied the faces of the comrades, most of whom I had not met before. Among others, I took particular note of a pale, delicate-featured, somewhat fragile-looking young woman sitting very quietly at the back of the hall, up against the wall. No I didn't spot her as a cartoonist or an artist. I confess my first thought was, 'I wonder if she's getting enough to eat?' Nothing in Laura's outward appearance indicates the tremendous power of her cartoons.

"Well, there was a lot of talk at that meeting. It seemed everyone had something to say. Except Laura. She listened intently, missing nothing. **But then we came to the call for volunteers for a Militant distribution. And the thing I noticed at once, and that made the occasion stick in my memory, was Laura's response. She was the first to raise her hand.**

"A JENNIE HIGGINS"

"So it was, that long before I knew Laura's work as an artist, I knew her work and devotion as a party member, as a political, and as a Jimmy Higgins of the revolution, or, if I may coin a name, a Jennie Higgins.

"Gradually, I found out from others about Laura's stature as an artist, her outstanding work in sculpture and I had the pleasure of seeng some of her extraordinary creations in one of the country's major art museums. When Laura came to us, she was already a recognized, distinguished artist. But how different Laura was from some others of the artistic and intellectual world who have paid visits to the workers movement. She expected no special treatment or rank. She came to serve. And she has boundless respect for and confidence in the workers.

"That winter Laura would go out with the Militant or leaflets in a foot of snow, way out on some open roadway before a plant gate, in sub-zero weather. Scarce able to stand up against the famous Chicago wind, Laura went out and did her duty. In her case for she was in frail health, she was really endangering herself.

"So we cooked up a little 'plot,' a 'conspiracy' among the branch leaders. We agreed among ourselves not to give Laura any more outside assignments. Did you wonder, Laura, why your hand was so often overlooked? We were saving you, even if we didn't know it at the time, for your role as the Militant's cartoonist.

CARTOON FOR UNION

"The combination of class consciousness, moral courage, political savvy and clarity, imagination and technical artistic capacity required for a Marxist cartoonist is found so rarely, that a truly great cartoonist is a once-in-a-generation phenomenon. That's why we have been so lucky to find Laura."

The speaker related how the first cartoon Laura ever drew was for a group of Chicago workers in a union struggle. "I asked Laura if she would try her hand at a cartoon for the union paper. That was Laura's first cartoon. I don't have a copy, alas. I don't know if one exists. But from the first cartoon, I knew she and the Militant were made for each other."

On a visit to New York, the speaker said, he brought news of his "discovery" to those associated with the Militant's publication. Returning to Chicago he helped persuade Laura to visit New York with the aim in mind of trying her hand at art work for the Militant.

HOW LAURA WORKS

"Her first effort appeared on March 4, 1944. Looking back at that cartoon today, from the peak of Laura's growth to world preeminence in her field, it seems nothing special or startling. But at that time it came as such a fresh addition to the paper, adding such a bright satiric touch that our readers everywhere at once hailed and welcomed it. Her popularity was assured from the first."

Laura gets the germ of her cartoon ideas in the weekly joint staff discussions, Preis explained. "But I must tell you that these provide only the barest hints and suggestions. In the end it is all up to the artist.

"There is nothing so difficult as translating political concepts into pictorial images — images that at a glance shock, arouse, persuade, move the reader. Laura has that special gift — that combination of political acumen and artistic ability — which enables her to 'pass a miracle,' to make a miraculous transformation from these bare, verbal concepts into a vivid, powerful, moving pictorial presentation."

A MODEL AND EXAMPLE

"Part of the process is, I believe, the element of consciousness in her work. She thinks deeply about what she is doing. But, in addition, there is her sincerity and depth of feeling. Even the best of the bourgeois cartoonists are capable merely of a brittle, witty comment on men and affairs. Laura is imbued with great purpose and intensity of emotion. Thus, her cartoons are more than gags. They are profound symbolic representations of the world of struggle in which we live."

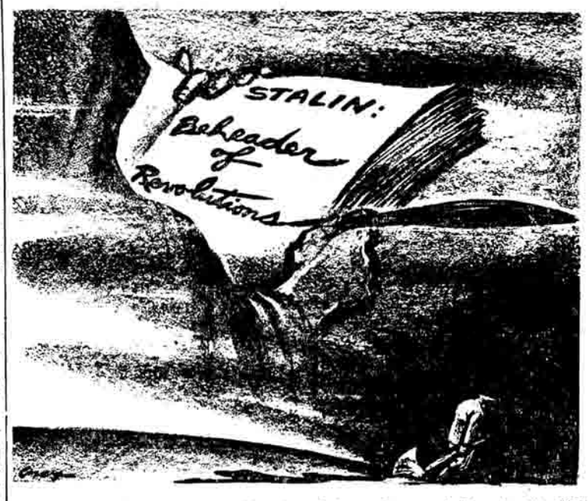
"In Our Hands There Lies the Power"

Reprinted from Issue of April 25, 1952

But Lots of Young Ones Do

Reprinted from Issue of April 30, 1951

The Judgment of History



Reprinted from Issue of March 16, 1953

Watch That Blood Pressure!

Reprinted from Issue of July 9, 1951

Each Militant reader has his favorite Laura Gray cartoons. The editors have made no attempt to pick the "best" of the hundreds of masterpieces of cartooning Laura Gray has produced in the past 10 years. The above four have been selected from her more recent creations merely as representative examples of her art. It is to be hoped that one day a whole book of her cartoons will be published. It will provide a graphic panorama of our times.

...Report on My Tour

(Continued from page 1)

and the depression since the experience of that opening meeting in Newark.

I talked to a Negro worker from one of the large industrial plants in Newark. He was an old-time radical although still young in years. He told me, as if in self-reproach, that "from a humanitarian point of view unemployment is nothing to be gloating about But I can't help feeling," he said, "a sense of vindication when I meet some of the guys I've been talking to for years, and who kept telling me, 'Go on; things are going to be prosperous for 50 years,' and now I meet them coming out of plant personnel looking distressed and dazed." He smiled. "I guess I'm only human to feel that way, after all I've been talking to these guys for years. Anyway, maybe they'll wake up now."

IN PHILADELPHIA

In Philadelphia we really had an all-day conference of the Delaware Valley SWP which wound up with a spirited mass meeting at night. There were comrades from Maryland, Allentown, Southern New Jersey and Philadelphia. I had the opportunity of talking to some friends who were members of the independent United Electrical Workers Union. One of them told me how incensed militant unionists were at the shameful performance of Carey of the IUE-CIO, who greeted McCarthy's invasion of the electrical industry by appealing to him to go after the leaders of the UE.

Carey apparently thought this was clever tactics for winning the pending election contests between the rival UE and IUE-CIO in a number of Eastern plants. **But the big Westinghouse plant in Philadelphia went UE despite Carey's witch-hunt tactics.**

BOSTON-LYNN

My next stop was Lynn, Mass. For the first time in many years the party conducted a public meeting in this town. I was a little skeptical about attempting a meeting in Lynn. But the comrades were determined to answer McCarthy's recent witch-hunt visit to that electrical center and they proved to be right. We had a good turn out of workers who came down in response to leaflet and newspaper publicity and I devoted a good part of my talk to Carey's treachery in the fight against McCarthyism.

The next night I spoke at the Boston SWP headquarters. By eight o'clock the hall was completely full. And by 8:15 (the scheduled opening time) it was an overflow crowd with standing room only throughout the meeting. A crowd of students had responded to the energetic leaflet campaign. I'd say about 10% of them were pro-McCarthy, another 10% definitely opposed and 80% interested and curious.

That was before the meeting started. It was quite a session. I counted over 40 questions from the audience and any number of informal questions after the meeting was adjourned.

The discussion ranged over the whole field of Marxism. At one point I found myself defending the right of a people to social revolution. Then I paused, and realized that I was speaking in Boston, cradle of the first American revolution. So I gave them a lecture on the origins of the revolution of 1776, the role of the mechanics and workers of Boston in the great social upheaval that transformed America and the world.

One of my questioners persisted in contending that there were "good" and "bad" revolutions, and the good ones were those that were kept under control by responsible authorities, as in the first American revolution. I reminded him that the charge of "uncontrollability" was the pet slogan of the Tories against Boston's Sons of Liberty and the leader of the American revolutionists, Sam Adams. I told him that the possessing classes always feel that a revolution is "uncontrollable" if it deprives them of their privileged minority position as the old antiquated society gives way to the new.

Later one of the comrades told me that this questioner turned to his neighbor with a puzzled look and said, "He must have studied a different history course than I'm taking."

I left Boston with a feeling of deep gratification that we had been able to spread our Marxist ideas to a new circle of youth due to the wonderful work of the comrades.

I hope to return there soon and I firmly expect to see many of these students fighting actively in the ranks of Marxism.

BUFFALO MEETING

In many ways, Buffalo, my next stop, was the high point of my tour so far. I had never had the chance to meet most of the comrades there or to see the group in action. In Buffalo we have a branch we can be proud of. It is without doubt the leading radical workers party in the city. It has been the butt of reactionary attacks by newspapers, police, and the FBI. But it has fought back with such persistence, grit and skill, that one feels they have gained in stature as a result.

A speaker in our movement thrives on the kind of crowd we had at the Buffalo meeting. Fresh, eager to learn, young workers and students. The audience showed its working class composition by the fact that Negroes amounted to roughly half the audience. There were workers from every important industry and union. Old fighters and seasoned veterans of strike battles, young workers hearing a socialist speech for the first time. The audience was sympathetic, alert to every idea the speaker tried to express. They worked with the speaker and felt the collective satisfaction of assimilating the analysis.

The headquarters of the branch is a model for any working class organization. A combination of functional simplicity and homelike facilities for relaxation. After the meeting, the affair was transformed into an evening of entertainment and I had a chance to see how these socialist fighters, these very serious people, know how to have fun. They put on a skit that had me in stitches along with the rest of the audience.

Then followed hours of informal discussion. The crowd seemed to want to stick together. This was their home. You felt the pride of workers in an organization they had built. It was theirs.

Newark, Philadelphia (Delaware Valley), Lynn, Boston, Buffalo, and now Pittsburgh. The warm friendly faces of my comrades in these branches are the picture of devotion and clear socialist purpose.

These are among the best people in the world and they perform their great historic mission with a sense of responsibility and unbeatable revolutionary zeal.

The spirit of the SWP can best be exemplified by Pittsburgh. A group of young comrades from different parts of the country have recently arrived here, to help the comrades who have held the fort for many years. They are tackling the problem of building a branch with such zest and determination that it is impossible to doubt they will succeed. We'll be hearing a lot from Pittsburgh in the next period.

And what will the rest of the tour be like? As I leave one city and go to the next I try to imagine how it will be. But the reality is always better, more exciting, than the prospect. It's a wonderful experience. I wish all our comrades could go on a national tour.

Congratulations To Our Laura

"Your artistry has struck many blows for the working class. Your ten-year success is our good fortune." (Detroit SWP.)

"Our congratulations and revolutionary greetings on completion of ten years of Trotskyist achievement. Your work has been an inspiration to the Bay Area supporters of the Militant." (San Francisco-Oakland Branches, SWP.)

"Our deepest gratitude for the inspiration of your invaluable contribution." (Chicago SWP.)

"Truth in art inspiring human action — a truly artistic achievement." (Arne Swabeck.)

"We send warmest greetings to you on your tenth anniversary with the Militant. Your cartoons have not only given it a lift and punch but have also entered you among the list of great names in the revolutionary movement." (Philadelphia SWP.)

"We are as proud of you as we are of the Militant, because the two have become inseparable — it would not be the same paper without the best revolutionary cartoonist as one of its star attractions. With confidence we look forward to another celebration ten years from now, when the Militant will be a daily, read by millions, and will offer the work of a whole staff of cartoonists, of whom you will be the inspirer, model and dean." (Newark SWP.)

"Laura Gray's cartoons, appearing regularly in the Militant for the past ten years and reprinted in the revolutionary press of the world, consistently display the indomitable revolutionary spirit so characteristic of the artist herself." (Los Angeles SWP.)

"We send you ten red roses, one for each good year of labor for the most important paper in the world movement of Trotskyism." (Minnesota SWP.)

"Your devotion to the socialist cause is all the more inspiring when we think of the many artists and intellectuals who once played with that cause. They were peace-time heroes. You have proven to be one of the few ('men') among them." (Boston SWP.)

Accompanying a gift from the New York and Los Angeles locals of the SWP: "On this tenth anniversary of your splendid contribution to the cause of socialism — this proverbial 'small token' of our appreciation, esteem and love."

THE MILITANT ARMY

New York Literature Agent **John Tabor** reports a continued good response to street sales of the Militant: **"Ethel P.** and **Ruth N.** sold 11 Militants and four anti-McCarthy pamphlets. In Harlem **Janet** and **Meryl** sold 34 papers.

"We are trying a few experiments at the high schools. **Greg** and **Don** sold two Militants and three anti-McCarthy pamphlets at the first sale and gave out hundreds of leaflets advertising the forum on Youth Today. Again in Harlem on Saturday, **Manny** and **Greg** sold 19 Militants."

Detroit Literature Agent **Janet MacGregor** writes, "We are up to our necks in work, but **Kev** is keeping up his route in the Ferndale project and sold 14 Militants there Sunday. **Sara** sold 12 papers at a union meeting."

Literature Agent **Dolores Seville** reports recent sales by **Oakland** comrades. "Sunday we went on a sale in San Francisco. **Lil** sold one Militant; **Ada**, eight; and **Dolores**, four. **Bill K.** sold one anti-McCarthy pamphlet, one copy of 'America's Road to Socialism,' and four papers to friends.

"On the campus **Bill** sold one Militant; **Leonard** sold six anti-McCarthy pamphlets and two Militants; and **Dolores** sold five anti-McCarthy pamphlets. At a public meeting **Bill** sold five Militants; **Dolores**, 11; and **Lil**, five."

Reader **P. L. D.** of **Reading, Penna.** send best wishes along with his renewal to the Militant. "The Militant is one of the best labor papers I ever received. Stick for the truth as you see it and do not be afraid to stand up for your convictions. A few years yet and a just economic and political order will displace the present inequitable one, which is the cause of most of the world headaches and heartaches."

W. L. G. of **Raymond, Mont.** writes, "I am a Marxian socialist of a lifetime and I went through enough misery with the Stalinists not to take any more chances. Our whole fight is based on common sense and it should not be very hard to get things straightened out."

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Duncan Ferguson
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Wall Street Lies About Puerto Rico

The shots fired by three Puerto Rican nationalists in the House of Representatives March 1 echoed around the world. The immediate reflex of the capitalist press was to picture it as an act of "insanity." As proof, Wall Street's propagandists claim (1) that U.S. domination has been beneficial to Puerto Rico, (2) that the Puerto Ricans can have "independence" any time they want it, but have overwhelmingly rejected the offer. Therefore to shoot up Congress was "madness."

Within a day the witch hunters began to convert the terrorist deed into grist for their fascist mill, deliberately claiming it to be part of a "communist" conspiracy.

In all this heat there is little light. What is needed is a cool and objective political assessment of the affair beginning with the aims and methods of the three demonstrators, Lolita Lebron, Rafael C. Miranda and Andres Cordero.

Of their courage and spirit of self-sacrifice, the evidence is graphic enough. All three had made up their minds to die for their cause. Their objective — to dramatize the plight of Puerto Rico and thereby advance the struggle for independence — will meet with sympathetic response throughout the colonial world and among politically conscious workers everywhere. But it is not only the road to hell that is paved with good intentions. Despite their courage and lofty aims, the Puerto Rican terrorists did a frightful disservice to their own cause, injured the interests of the Puerto Rican people and of the world labor movement, and played into the hands of McCarthyite fascism. That is the objective political fact.

The error of these terrorists was to substitute futile personal action for the action of the masses. Thereby they reap only condemnation, or at least lack of understanding, from their own people, and set up a fresh obstacle to winning the majority to their views. The reaction naturally seizes on this to discredit the aims of the terrorists; and, going a step further, utilizes it to further its own sinister aims.

All this has been stressed thousands of times by Marxists in the past century. The need to stress it once more — in 1954! — is at bottom another commentary on the decades of crimes committed by Stalinism in the name of Marxism which have served to repel sincere and devoted revolutionists from the soocialist movement and shunt them into the blind alley of individual terrorism.

Now let us turn to the claims of the capitalist propagandists. The March 3 Wall Street Journal states them succinctly: "But there is no injustice to be found in our relations with Puerto Rico. Once a dependency and now a commonwealth, Puerto Rico has been promised its independence by two Presidents and by our United Nations delegate. All that they have to do is to ask for it. But they have refused to do this."

What are the facts? For more than a half century, Wall Street has savagely exploited this tiny but fertile island. In the whole western hemisphere it would be difficult to find slums more depressing than those in Puerto Rico. The immigration of hundreds of thousands of Puerto Ricans into the tenement-ridden areas of New York is sufficient evidence that what they were leaving was not exactly a tropical paradise.

After some 50 years of bleeding Puerto Rico white, Wall Street's political representatives finally offered the Puerto Ricans "independence" — if they wanted it. The offer was not entirely disinterested and philanthropic. It coincided with the need of U.S. imperialism to appear before the world as the guardian and banner bearer of democracy. Dovetailing with the preparations for World War III, it was a diplomatic necessity for American imperialism to clean up a bit, especially before the colonial public. And Puerto Rico had long been held up as the horrible example of what happens to a land that comes under Wall Street's domination.

At best it was like a slaveholder offering freedom to a famished slave after years of exploitation, but with the proviso that if he takes advantage of the offer he doesn't eat at all. For the offer of freedom to Puerto Rico carried with it the threat of economic and political reprisals that could prove swift death to the island's economy. It was fear of this that caused a good many Puerto Ricans to reject the "generous" offer. Thus there is real political substance behind the Puerto Rican terrorist gun play.

Recognition of this is unconsciously admitted by such a well-known columnist as Anne O'Hare McCormick of the N. Y. Times in her comments March 3 on the incongruity of pistol shots in the "ordinarily sedate Congress": "It is as if the solid ground opened and for a shocked instant we caught a whiff of the bitter political passions boiling up in other sections of the world." What she caught a whiff of was the revolutionary powder kegs that American imperialism is incorporating into its basic structure by expanding over the entire world. That includes the powder keg of Puerto Rico.

Let's consider finally the use the witch hunters are making of the incident. A typical headline appeared in the March 3 N. Y. World-Telegram and Sun: "Link to Red Conspiracy Was Shown." The actual fact is that the only "links" so far shown outside of the nationalist political views of the terrorists are that the leader, Lolita Lebron, is a Roman Catholic; and one of her landladies reported that she "kept a Bible by her bed." None of the witch hunters, however, have tried to use these "links" to "associate" her with the Roman Catholic Senator McCarthy or the Pope. They want a Moscow address even if they have to manufacture it.

The authorities claim to have discovered unspecified "Communist literature" in one of the defendant's homes and House Speaker Martin said they "undoubtedly are Communists." If this "evidence" is not enough to prove the terrorists are "communists," it is at least sufficient to give the alert on how the McCarthyites seek to utilize the terrorist incident to whip up a fresh red scare. A new wave of hysteria is the immediate danger. That is what the labor movement must be prepared to meet.

The shots fired by the Puerto Ricans are symptomatic of profound evils in America's relations with the rest of the world. The cause of those evils, like the cause of the witch hunt, is right here at home. Its address is Wall Street. That is where we must direct our attention — not to the diversionary efforts of the McCarthyites.

Will Democrats Fight McCarthyism?

"What are the Democrats going to do?" asked liberal columnist Thomas L. Stokes on Feb. 9, before the Pentagon capitulated to McCarthy. "They could do something that would be of great value to the nation. That would be to accept the gage of battle on the overwhelming issue of the times, which is McCarthyism. . ."

"After this (Stevens) debacle," wrote the liberal N. Y. Post on Feb. 25, "the great question is whether the Democrats will take up the battle that the Commander-in-Chief has fled. Never did they have a greater chance to serve the country and the cause of world freedom. . ."

Three days later the liberal columnist Max Lerner asked, "Who is there on the entire Washington scene who is willing to lead the necessary struggle to protect the nation against this political adventurer gone berserk?"

The Democrats themselves had already answered the question on Feb. 2 when — with one exception — they voted in the Senate for the $214,000 McCarthy demanded for witch-hunting activities next year. It was this vote, indicating that McCarthy need fear no opposition, which emboldened him to reach for the Pentagon.

These votes were positive proof that the Democrats don't have the nerve to fight McCarthyism. And they don't have the inclination — deep down, they share McCarthy's premise that anybody *accused* of "communist" sympathies is automatically suspect.

Who will stop McCarthy? The Spectator, a "moderate" British weekly, put its finger right on the heart of the issue when it wrote: "McCarthy will only be stopped by men who are more powerful, more clever and more grimly purposeful than he is himself."

That excludes both Democrats and Republicans, both liberals and conservatives.

Reliance on them will produce only greater debacles and fiascos of the Stevens variety, all redounding to the greater strength of McCarthy.

The organized labor movement, by and large, has tried to dodge the issue up to now. But it won't be able to go on doing this permanently. There is a power in the land far greater than McCarthy's — the power lodged in the 17-million-member labor movement, their families and their allies among the minority groups, the farmers, and the lower middle class.

If this power is made "grimly purposeful" — that is, if it is alerted to the true proportions of the fascist menace in this country and provided with a proper vehicle of combat — it can stop McCarthyism cold.

The American people can be alerted to the McCarthyite danger most effectively through calling a Congress of Labor, uniting all sections of the union movement and their allies in a serious and democratic discussion of what McCarthyism is and what it wants.

The proper vehicle of combat is an independent Labor Party, breaking clean and free from the capitalist parties, and mobilizing the strength of the genuinely anti-McCarthy forces on the decisive political arena by running its own candidates for office.

This will stop McCarthyism; nothing less will do it.

A Turn Toward Democrats?

By Murry Weiss

The labor movement continues to follow the policy of supporting the Democratic Party. Its 1954 election policy is entirely oriented in this direction. The terrible error in this policy is not that the Democrats cannot win. They may very well win the next elections. But what happens if they win through the support of labor?

The labor movement remains captive to capitalist political interests. And as long as that is true, it cannot offer the United States bold leadership in overcoming the oncoming social crisis with an anti-capitalist program.

By clinging to the dead past, by hoping for a return to the New Deal, by dreaming of the status quo minus McCarthy, the labor movement will head into the coming showdown crisis totally unequipped for its tasks. The coming crisis will be solved in a progressive manner only by a socialist revolution. If the labor movement remains guided by a leadership that shuns the socialist revolution, it will be mercilessly destroyed by fascist counter-revolution. **As Daniel De Leon, one of the great pioneer leaders and theoreticians of American socialism said: "When a revolution is pending and, for whatever reason is not consummated, reaction is the only alternative."**

No doubt the American working class will learn independent politics in the period ahead; the question is whether it will learn by making a timely turn and defeating the fascist threat, or whether it will be condemned to pass through the bestial school of fascism.

What is the immediate perspective of American political development in the light of the political mood of the working class?

COAL MINER'S LETTER

Under the heading of "Depression Feared" Labor's Daily, Jan. 6, published a letter from a West Virginia miner. The letter is of considerable interest and we will quote it in full:

"I see they claim there are 51 thousand men out of work, almost that many in West Virginia alone. More men cut off in 11 months of Republican prosperity than the whole 20 years under the Democrats. On Cabin Creek and Coal River some miners are on starvation. A woman told me on Cabin Creek she was almost afraid in her home at day unless she had her doors locked. How can those poor people stand it three more years?

"They have almost bankrupted the farmers in 11 months, trying now to take our social security from us old men, and just waiting on John L. Lewis to make a move so they can break our union up. Now you scabs and seng diggers and ground-hog hunters and millionaires have got the change you voted for. I didn't think there were enough men and women in this country that would rather go to the Red Cross for their flour and depend on catching ground hogs for their meat to elect a President.

"We had six panics, 1837, 1843, 1860, 1873, 1910, 1929. The one under President Grant was the worst the world has ever seen (1873). He was a 5-star general and brother, this 5-star president, the way his gang has started off, will be the worst one of all. Just wait one more year and see.

Garland Varies
Price Hill, W. Va."

In my opinion this letter expresses the thinking of a wide section of American workers. The fear of depression, the deep suspicion that the Republican Party is bringing about bad economic conditions, the bitterness toward workers and farmers who were fooled into voting for Eisenhower, the feeling that worse is to come, the expectation of new hostile moves from the Eisenhower regime against the unions, the illusion that the Democratic Party is still the best answer for the workers — all these are undoubtedly typical aspects of the mood and thinking of the workers in the United States today.

In addition, the remark of the West Virginia miner, Garland Varies, on the ruin of the farmer seems to catch rather accurately the mood of a large section of the farming population. Frank Edwards, AFL radio commentator, gave some spot reactions of a cross section of American people to Eisenhower's State of the Union message. While he was rather favorable to the message himself, the comments he quoted of workers, small businessmen and farmers, were all negative. One farm woman from the West said: "I didn't listen to the President's speech, I made that mistake in 1952."

Reports of talk in the shops around New York, on the busses, in the streets, run along the same line. One group of white collar workers on a bus thought Eisenhower may be trying to pull us out of the growing economic slump, but the big boys around him wouldn't allow it. They felt the real danger was the Republican Party rather than any individual.

A group of waitresses in Brooklyn were talking recently about the Republicans as "the party of depressions." One of them was explaining how the Republicans represented the "capitalists." **"You know," she explained, somewhat frightened at the radical sounding term, "the guys with all the money."**

It is worth recalling that the first serious signs of national depression, and the aggravated difficulties of the farmers provoked the noticeable swing toward the Democratic Party last year, first in the Wisconsin election upset in October and then in the Nov. 3 elections.

Despite the Republican victory in California (achieved by pulling out all the stops on the witch hunt, and smearing the Democrats as "protectors of spies"), the trend started by last November's elections can be expected to deepen along with deepening depression trends.

In the absence of an independent political policy of the labor movement, a sweep toward the Democrats may well be the first manifestation of mass political discontent of the working class and the farmers.

As a matter of fact there are important indications, aside from last year's elections, that such a swing to the Democratic Party is in the making. Stewart Alsop, N. Y. Herald Tribune columnist reveals that "the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee, after a careful analysis of each close district, has informally estimated that the Democrats would gain more than forty seats in the House if the elections were held now (Jan. 10)."

Alsop points out that "this estimate might be dismissed as mere partisan wishful thinking if it had been made for publicity purposes. But it was made instead, for the private information of the committee and the estimate almost leaned over backward in allowing for Democratic losses."

Alsop reports that two Democratic campaigners, Sen. Paul Douglas, of Illinois, and Sen. Hubert Humphrey of Minnesota, have recently taken field trips and report a marked shift of farmers and workers in their states away from the Republicans and toward the Democrats.

Douglas "travelled by car for almost 13,000 miles in Illinois. He made 290 speeches in 150 towns, visited 88 counties and talked to literally thousands of people. As a result of all this he concluded that a very strong Democratic trend — stronger than he remembered since he entered politics — had set in."

Most of Douglas' experience was with farmers who are extremely bitter over the turn of the economic trend. But Alsop relates that "not only are the farmers discontented. In western Illinois, heart of the country's farm implement industry, Douglas found near-depression conditions, coupled with a strong swing to the Democrats."

POSSIBLE RESULTS

A political awakening, even in the distorted form of a swing to the capitalist party out of power, could open up the sluice gates of a new wave of radical opposition to capitalism. A Democratic victory in '54, and even in '56 wouldn't signify an extended era of "New Deal-Fair Deal." The developing crisis of American capitalism would quickly dispel illusions about the ability of the Democratic Party to solve the insoluble dilemma of capitalist depression. A Democratic comeback would be a short-lived episode in which favorable conditions for the mobilization of the workers in an independent political formation would develop with great speed.

Popular revulsion against the Republicans in power could very well release the pent-up hatred of the witch hunt. The political atmosphere would undoubtedly change toward greater freedom. Inevitably this would reinforce illusions in the capacity of the Democratic Party to stop McCarthyism. The fact is that McCarthyism as a distinct and developing fascist movement, operating outside the government apparatus, would become more clearly demarcated in the event of a Republican defeat.

Along with a continuing economic crisis, which the Democratic Party would be as helpless to solve as the Republican Party, the fascist threat to settle matters with labor by direct violent assault would loom ever larger. The workers would be confronted with the imperative need to form their own party and meet the capitalist depression and the fascist threat with a radical program.

The task of American socialists in this unfolding political pattern is to reinforce their struggle for an independent Labor Party and for the socialist program. All the major political tendencies in the labor movement are anticipating such a turn toward the Democrats from the standpoint of how to reinforce all the illusions and traps the workers could fall into.

The Stalinists, labor officials, liberals and social democrats are to blame for the present politically disarmed state of the American workers. They will repeat their betrayal of the Thirties under conditions of a Democratic Party come-back.

It will be up to the revolutionary socialists to stand firm by their principle of independent working class politics. American society is heading into a great social crisis. The American workers must not lose the day in such a crisis by remaining politically helpless and thus opening the road to a mass fascist movement.

WAR NO SOLUTION

The political perspective sketched out above is not fundamentally altered by the possibility of Big Business plunging into another world war. Wall Street may in its desperation stake everything on a gamble — an attempt to climb out of its difficulties through a gigantic military adventure.

The frightful consequences of such a crime against humanity will not alter the fact that the decaying social order of capitalism will be subjected to a great revolutionary criticism from the American people. Wars have been the breeding ground of social revolution more than once in history.

Workers' illusions about the Democratic Party are not unmixed with a sense of realistic understanding of the specific character of the Roosevelt-Truman "prosperity." Some workers we have talked to will readily agree, even though they are for the Democrats, that if the Republicans are the party of depression the Democrats are the party of war. And that in the last analysis both are equally responsible for both wars and depressions.

Without thinking it out theoretically, workers and farmers know that the prosperity they enjoyed during the last decade or so was based on war and preparation for war.

However, in the consciousness of millions the conclusion is dawning that the next war will not resemble World War II, insofar as its effects on the domestic situation is concerned. First of all, it will be a war which will for the first time mean death and destruction right here in the United States.

Secondly, the next war will not mean high wages, and relative security for the unions. Big Business has different plans. This time they would go to war fully realizing that it will bring such misery and degradation to the population of the U. S. that they will have to deal with mass radical opposition right at home, and not only in the rest of the world.

That's why the capitalists are feverishly building up the Police State in Washington. And that's why McCarthyite fascism has such strong potential appeal to Big Business. They understand that even a Police State, on the model that Eisenhower heads, may not prove sufficient insurance against revolutionary opposition at home during a war.

The idea of a fascist settlement with the American labor movement before the plunge into World War III is obviously gaining ground in the topmost circles of American capitalism. The decision to launch another war is inhibited by the existence of a powerful organized working class at home. And yet the process of the world revolution may accelerate their pace. The plunge may be taken even before American capitalists are completely sure of the domestic and international outcome.

But the deeper the mass political awakening, the swifter the turn toward independent class politics by the American workers, the less realistic such a gamble will appear to the most powerful capitalist interests. These interests have faltered in their Third World War maneuvers since 1945.

A new radical turn in America, would deepen the paralysis of will in the American ruling class. The capitalists have their time-tables, plots, calculations and schemes, but the dynamic of the real class struggle can do more to upset these schemes than the worshipers of capitalist power imagine.

In any case the tactic of the American socialists should be to vigorously build the cadres of the Socialist Workers Party. This will hasten the political mobilization of the workers under a revolutionary banner. In this way we will not merely be observing history but contributing in the most significant way to the progressive outcome of the greatest crisis in human history.

...McCarthy Power Bid

(Continued from page 1)

White House would do better next time.

Will it? Such hopes completely ignore the strategy — and the dilemma — of the Eisenhower regime.

Eisenhower wants a Republican victory in the 1954 congressional elections. He dislikes McCarthy, and he fears him. But he has decided that he needs him. An open and violent rift between the White House and McCarthy might cost the Republicans a defeat in November. That is why the Republican National Committee endorsed McCarthy as an "asset" and let him set the tone for the campaign.

On the other hand it is recognized by the Eisenhower-Dewey-Brownell wing of the GOP that it may lose the 1954 elections even with McCarthy, and perhaps even because of him. But they regard this risk as a lesser evil. As columnist Walter Lippmann pointed out on Feb. 16, "Their line is designed as a protection against the exploitation by McCarthy of a political setback in November. If the election goes better than they now fear, they will still be in the saddle though considerably bedraggled in appearance. If the election goes badly, they hope — though almost certainly in vain — to make McCarthy share the blame and not to be able to raise hell at their expense."

They are afraid, Lippmann explains, not only of losing Congress to the Democrats "but also of losing their own party position and perhaps their political heads to the extreme anti-Eisenhower and anti-Dewey wing of the party." **As long as that is their main motivation, they will not dare risk a showdown with McCarthy.**

McCARTHY'S AIMS

Lippmann's estimate reinforces the one that the Militant has been making for some time. He assumes (wrongly, we believe) that McCarthy is not a candidate for the presidency, but says: "He is a candidate for supreme boss — for the dictatorship — of the Republican party . . . his unconcealed purpose is to break and subdue the President and the executive branch of the government, the Republican party in Congress, the national organization of the party. If any Republican still thinks that McCarthy's primary target is Communism and not the capture of the Republican party, he will live and learn differently." (March 1.)

In his assault on Stevens, Lippmann says, "McCarthy's quite evident purpose was to demonstrate his power to intimidate the Army to show that he was so powerful that he could reach over the head of the Commander in Chief and terrorize individual officers. . . McCarthy's object is to show that even in the Army he is a bigger man than they (Eisenhower and Stevens) are, and thus to expand his power by making himself feared."

Step by step, McCarthy's power and his followers have been penetrating into one department of the government after another — the State Department, the Justice Department, administrative bodies like the Federal Communications Commission, etc. In this strategy he follows in Hitler's footsteps, although he is more effective than Hitler was because he is part of the government himself.

"To understand what McCarthy is driving at in his attack on the Army," the liberal columnist Max Lerner wrote on Feb. 24, "the literature on the Nazi movement in Germany is required reading. J. W. Wheeler-Bennett has traced the whole story in his recent book, already an acknowledged masterpiece of narrative, 'The Nemesis of Power,' sub-titled 'The German Army in Politics, 1918-1945' (St. Martin's Press). Before Hitler could capture power, he had first to penetrate the Army and make it pliant to his purposes. Once the Army showed itself willing to play politics on Hitler's terms its strength as a force on the German national scene was lost. It became only a tool."

Ten days before this, Lerner recognized that the McCarthyite aim "is not to strengthen the Republicans but to split them, and capture the Republican Party. . . (They) are not run-of-the-mill Republicans nor are they even the old Taft variety of isolationist. They are a new breed, with a new brand, who despise Eisenhower, Dewey and Dulles almost as much as they hate Truman and Stevenson. . . Their target is not 1954 but 1956, not the Congressional elections but the Republican convention. . .

"In Germany and Italy the fascist adventurers formed their own party and marched to national power with it. But the nature of the American party system makes that almost impossible here. Given our Electoral College, the only way to win the Presidency is through one of the two major parties. It would be almost hopeless to build a new party in America on the classic fascist pattern. Therefore the political goon-squadders have set out on their biggest task thus far — that of capturing the Republican Party."

Lerner here comes as close as any liberal has to the Militant's analysis of McCarthyism as the American form of fascism in its incipient stages. Because of different traditions, differences in political structure, etc., McCarthyism cannot function in precisely the same way as Hitlerism and would not have achieved the success it has if it had tried to be a simple carbon-copy of the German form of fascism. In that sense, American fascism will never follow "the classic fascist pattern."

But despite the different forms McCarthyism assumes and will continue to assume, it is developing more and more along the lines of the "classic" pattern. Lerner himself indicates this by drawing the parallel between the Hitlerite and McCarthyite penetrations of the military. **The stronger McCarthyism becomes, the more it will resemble Hitlerism.**

DIFFERENT COURSE OPEN

McCarthy's aim, it is true, is to take over the GOP and make it a fascist party. But it would be a bad mistake to think that that is the only course open to him, and that he will be stopped if he is thwarted in this aim. He is not a "run-of-the-mill Republican"; he is not an ordinary witch hunter. He owes no real allegiance to the Republican Party, and if necessary and timely he will break with it and form a new party.

His threat to walk out of the party if Stevens did not capitulate to him was not pure bluff (except, perhaps, in the sense of when he would take such a step). McCarthy does not follow the "classic" pattern of Hitler when he tries to take over one of the old parties, but it would be thoroughly wrong to rule out the possibility of his forming a new party in the future with the aid of the already big following he has recruited through his skillful exploitation of leadership in the GOP.

McCarthy's easy victory over the Army illustrates the fascist nature of McCarthyism and serves warning that it will grow still more menacing and powerful so long as the labor movement continues to rely on capitalist politicians to defeat it.

Smeared by McCarthy

Irving Peress, Elmhurst, N.Y., dentist, consults his attorney, Sam Faulkner (right), while refusing to answer tricky smear questions by Sen. McCarthy at New York hearing. McCarthy used issue of Peress's honorable discharge from Army to open his bid for control of the Pentagon.

THE MILITANT

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The Negro Struggle

By Jean Blake

How Brotherhood Week Should Not Be Observed

We've seen many a farce acted out in the name of "Brotherhood Week." We've seen many a sanctimonious hypocrite make speeches about loving our neighbors as ourselves at public halls by "do-gooders" — who then go out and whoop it up for atom-bombing our colonial brothers off the face of the earth.

We've heard pious speeches about "improving Human Relations" in churches and public halls by "do-gooders" — who then go home to their race-restricted neighborhoods, relieved that their obligations as their "brother's keeper" are over for a year.

But the Brotherhood Week observance to top them all was the one held in Cleveland, Ohio last week. Roy Cohn, Senator McCarthy's chief counsel and investigator, was invited to participate in the ninth annual "Fellowship Night" of the Temple Men's Club. He was one of a panel heard by more than one thousand Brotherhood Night celebrants, on the subject "Human Relationships Involved in Religion, Education and Government."

This is the same Roy Cohn who achieved notoriety over a year ago when he and his side-kick went on their little European junket for McCarthy, trying to dig up some dirt on fellow Americans abroad that the witch-hunting Senator might be able to use in his smear campaign.

In the Brotherhood Night discussion, Cohn was an outstanding example of the double-talking demagogue:

He agreed with other speakers on the necessity of preserving civil rights and not smearing liberal and progressive people — but said there was an equal duty to protect innocent people against Communist conspirators by joint effort, by FBI, Department of Justice, Congress committees, grand juries and trial juries.

He agreed that religious faith and education would battle communism — but added that they are not enough because Communists will not fight on those grounds.

He said he believes in the right of the people to plead the Fifth Amendment in refusing to answer questions, and he would not repeal it — but not people in government or education. (He did not explain that the McCarthyite label "Fifth Amendment Communists" applies to *all* who exercise that right.)

Finally, in a spirit of magnanimous — Brotherhood? — he proposed forgiving all repentant American Communists "who tell what's behind the Iron Curtain."

A worse distortion of the concept of brotherhood would be hard to imagine. It used to mean respect for our brothers, not betrayal, informing and stool-pigeoning. It used to mean solidarity in the face of attack by tyrants and dictators. It used to mean breaking down the barriers that separate man from man in our society. But not in the McCarthyite concept. When called before that fascist inquisitor your only fight is to testify against your brother and yourself.

Let's end this farce of "Brotherhood Week" when it degenerates that far.

The Mink Coat Slander

By Joyce Cowley

A short time ago I saw an interesting letter in the *Dear Editor* column of the New York Post:

"I sat in the subway deep in thought, wondering if my husband got his unemployment check. I hope he had enough money for milk for the baby. I still have chopped meat, a few potatoes and spaghetti in the house for the weekend. I've forgotten what it feels like to have enough in the house to eat. . . The season is supposed to start soon, maybe he'll be called back. Maybe he got his check. Now I go back to work, my husband and daughter take care of the baby. . .

"Then I picked up the paper and read where a clergyman preached that 'selfish working mothers' who neglected their children are the cause of juvenile delinquency. Mothers who work, he told a Senate Committee, are bartering their children's welfare for a 'fleeting bit of mink coat'."

Currently more than 5-1/4 million mothers, one out of every four with children under eighteen, work outside the home. But before mink manufacturers increase their production schedules, I suggest they look through a pamphlet "Planning Services for Children of Employed Mothers" recently published by the Dept. of Labor. It gives a somewhat different picture of the reason that mothers work. A study of families using day-care centers in New York City shows that 42% of the mothers are the sole support of their families. In the remaining 58%, both mother and father work, but almost half of the fathers make less than $40 a week and 80% make less than $50.

There is only a small percentage of working mothers in this particular study (which I believe is representative of employed mothers throughout the country) whose husbands make more than a subsistence wage. However, even though this group is relatively small, they've got their rights, too. I think it's time that I spoke out for them.

Say your husband makes $100 a week. Does this automatically mean that you have no right to work, that your children are neglected and you're responsible for the rise in juvenile delinquency and the high divorce rate? This is the opinion of a great many politicians, clergymen and various other "authorities" who seem conspicuously ignorant of what constitutes a good relationship between a mother and her child.

The enterprising woman who wants to help her husband buy a car or a home, the woman who doesn't care much for housework and seeks out a more congenial and interesting occupation, is blamed for a great variety of social evils.

Psychologists and psychiatrists who have really studied this question point out that it is the quality of a mother's relationship with her children, not the actual number of hours she spends with them, that makes all the difference. If a child is convinced that his mothers cares for him, he will *not* be upset when she goes off to work any more than he is upset when father goes off to work.

The majority of women with jobs have no choice. They've got to work — for groceries. But it's about time we recognizes that *every* woman has the right to work. Her reasons may vary — maybe she has an interesting job, maybe she wants to save money so she and the family can take a trip to Europe, maybe she wants to put her youngsters through college. It's even possible, though not very likely, that she wants to buy a mink coat. In that case she is certainly using more legitimate means to get it than those traditionally employed by women who acquire mink coats.

Whether it's mink or milk she's after, I protest against this habit of blaming America's twenty million working women for social disorders caused by the wars and depressions of a degenerating capitalist society.

Notes from the News

CONGRESSMEN AT WORK. The following are excerpts from a speech delivered on the floor of the House of Representatives by Cong. Carnahan (D. Mo.): "I am today offering a solution to the coffee problem. . . In this extremity I offer a suggestion which I believe has merit: Drink sassafras tea. Having been reared in the Missouri Ozarks. . . I have drunk literally gallons of sassafras tea . . . and such a delightful pickup it is. . . I might mention that a concentrate of sassafras tea is said to have certain medicinal qualities . . . it is said and firmly believed in my section of the hills that sassafras tea is a 'sure cure for the itch'. . . For jumpy nerves, sleepless nights, financial strain, and tired blood, why not switch to sassafras? Enjoy the 'switch that satisfies.'"

* * *

ANTI-JEWISH AND ANTI-NEGRO literature was circulated through the mails to the residents of the Quad City area of Rock Island, Moline, East Moline and Davenport, Iowa, while anti-Jewish stickers were being pasted on store fronts. Stamped marking on the outside of the envelopes read, "Anti-Jewish week, Feb. 21 to 28." The envelopes were postmarked from Rock Island while the racist literature inside referred to a St. Louis, Mo., "Citizens Protective Assn." The Rock Island police chief says he is convinced that the group there is connected with the St. Loius organization.

* * *

NO PERJURY ACTION AGAINST DETROIT STOOL-PIGEON. A Federal Grand Jury has refused to take any action against Milton Santwire, a stool pigeon accused of lying in the recent Smith Act trial of Communist Party members in Detroit. The witness, a plant in the Communist party, first said under oath that he was paid only by the FBI for his dirty work. Recalled to the stand, he admitted under defense questioning, that he had also been receiving a $75-a-month pay off since 1948 from the Ford Motor Company.

NEGRO REFUSES FEDERAL APPOINTMENT. Paul Phillips, executive secretary of the Grand Rapids Urban League, turning down an offer to become a special assistant in the Dept. of Health, Education and Welfare, wrote to department head Oveta Hobby, "It would be unfair and unwise to ask my family, especially my seven-year-old son, to live in and attempt to adjust to the rigid pattern of racial segregation that exists in Washington. Being adults, my wife and I could try to make some attempt at understanding and solving the problem. But how does one explain racial segregation to a child?"

* * *

PERESS FAMILY SUBJECTED TO ATTACKS. Rocks have been hurled though the windows of the New York home of Dr. Irving Peress, whose honorable discharge from the Army brought down the wrath of McCarthy. Peress said he had also received 30 unsigned, abusive, and violently anti-Semitic letters since the case hit the headlines. Vigilante elements last week jammed a Queens public school in an effort to stampede the resignation of Mrs. Peress from the editorship of a local P. T. A. magazine. The school principal was forced to adjourn the meeting when the mob set off a 15-minute demonstration of screaming, clapping and stomping of feet after a local Legionnaire bellowed that "no person should be allowed to hold office in a parents group whose opinions are contrary to the American way of life." The break-up of the meeting left Mrs. Peress in her post of editor.

* * *

DETROIT UNEMPLOYMENT SPURS ARMY RECRUITMENT. Mounting unemployment in the Detroit area is proving a definite aid in recruitment, Armed Forces representatives in that area say. Army enlistments were up 12% in January over December, while Air Force enlistments went up 26% in the same period. The Coast Guard office there discontinued enlistments Jan. 1. "But we've had quite a few calls from prior-service men wanting back in because of the job situation," a spokesman said.

L. A. Church Defies Loyalty Oath

LOS ANGELES, Feb. 22 — Taking a resolute stand of opposition to the demands of the witch-hunters, the members of the First Unitarian Church in this city voted last night to instruct their Board of Trustees not to sign a loyalty oath that would qualify the church for property-tax exemptions.

The California law providing tax exemption for churches and other non-profit organizations was amended last year to provide that any organization seeking such exemption must take the following oath: "This organization does not advocate the overthrow of the Government of the United States or the State of California by force or violence or other unlawful means nor advocate the support of a foreign government against the United States in the event of hostilities."

The membership of the church, which now enjoys a $6,000 annual tax exemption, voted by secret ballot, after extended discussion of the issue, 206 to 31 against signing the tax oath. The action of the church membership was initiated by the Board of Trustees.

In a statement issued to its members prior to the meeting, the Board of Trustees said in part: "Using Germany's tragic Nazi history, that when and if we sign one oath of the most innocent sort there will be no room for retreat if further and more compromising oaths are thereafter required. Many refugees from Germany have pointed out the similarity to our present situation of the innocent-seeming beginnings of the Nazi development.

"Another (argument) suggests that this signals the state dictating to the churches what they may or may not believe or profess. If now the right of the state to so use the threat of its taxing power is granted on a nominally political (though also philosophical and ultimately theological) issue, will not the freedom of the church have been seriously compromised?"

Defying fascist Senator McCarthy at Senate subcommittee hearing in Albany, N.Y., General Electric worker Arthur L. Owens, below, charged: "This KKK committee is out to get me fired." Owens called Jean Arsenault (inset, right) a "damnable liar" for claiming Owens and five other GE workers were "Communists."

The January issue of the American Civil Liberties Union-News, published by the Northern California Branch, announced that the union, which is tax-exempt, would also refuse to sign the oath and would file suit in the Superior Court, before March 15, the filing deadline for such oaths, challenging the constitutionality of the law.

...Anti-Trucks Law Victory

(Continued from page 1)

and was subject to its drastic penalties. He immediately ordered that the SWP be barred from the ballot even though it had just filed the necessary petitions to qualify. (Thanks to court action taken by the SWP, however, it appeared on the ballot that year.)

Now, almost two years later, Millard is forced to admit in open court that he still lacks "sufficient proof" of his own original charges! Is it possible for a government official to convict himself of arbitrary and biased conduct more thoroughly than Millard has done in this case?

Millard's statement is a blow not only against his own conduct under the Trucks Law but also against the "subversive" list prepared by the U. S. Attorney Generals since 1947. His chief "evidence" against the SWP in 1952 was that its name appeared on the federal "subversive" blacklist, on which it was placed without a hearing, without charges and without an opportunity to defend itself.

Millard now confesses, in effect, that the federal blacklist provides him with no proof whatever as to the nature of the SWP. At any rate he deems it unwise and unsafe to stake any case against the SWP under the Trucks Law on the flimsy hearsay character of the Washington "subversive" list. Coming from a witch hunter, this is not exacty a compliment to that list.

SECOND STIPULATION

A second stipulation by Millard gave even more evidence of his retreat. Discussing the section of the Trucks Law which permits the barring of parties from the ballot, he said:

"The Attorney General of this State is of the opinion that the express provisions of section 7 . . . do not apply to the plaintiff Socialist Workers Party of Michigan as such, or to any of its nominees, nor do such provisions apply to the individual plaintiffs herein as members of the Socialist Workers Party of Michigan, and the defendants herein (Millard and the other state officials) disclaim any intention to enforce the provisions of section 7 of the act against said Socialist Workers Party or its individual members."

Statements of this kind, disclaiming any intention to again bar the SWP from the ballot, are not guarantees, of course. Capitalist politicians rarely hesitate to break promises. But Millard's statement would certainly prove embarrassing to him in court if he should attempt to effect another ballot ban against the SWP, and to that extent represent a gain in the SWP's fight for free elections.

On the whole, therefore, the SWP suit, although it has been dismissed, must be summed up as a successful part of the SWP's defense of its legitimate right to continue functioning as a political party, including the function of running for office and trying to educate the people to accept a socialist program.

Once Millard had backed down, the continuation of the suit became legally untenable, and the attorneys for the SWP, Bernard Probe and Jesse R. Bacalis, consented to the dismissal order "without prejudice." Thus the desired ruling on the constitutionality of the Trucks Law will not be made around the SWP suit (which Millard has been anxious to avoid all along).

CP CASE

Fortunately, however, there is another suit testing the law's constitutionality which is now before the courts — a suit filed by the Communist Party. This test action deserves the support of every opponent of the Trucks Law, and the Socialist Workers Party is now urging united labor and liberal action behind this suit as the best means of obtaining a constitutional ruling against the law.

The Trucks Law is undoubtedly one of the worst laws ever enacted by any state in this country. The Republican State Legislature passed it two years ago after a veritable orgy of witch hunting and redbaiting hysteria was set off by the House UnAmerican Activities Committee on a visit to Detroit. Fair Dealer Governor Williams lacked the courage to even veto the measure.

The hysteria got worse when the bill became law. Headlines shrieked with promises by state officials to round up hundreds of "suspects" who refused to register themselves with the state police as alleged "subversives" within five days. The SWP was barred from the ballot. The spirit of intimidation was so intense that the SWP had a hard time finding a lawyer willing to represent it in court.

CITIZENS' COMMITTEE

Court action held up the enforcement of the law. Then slowly but surely the forces of resistance began to make themselves felt. More than 200 labor, liberal, religious, educational and civic leaders formed the nonpartisan Citizens' Committee Against the Trucks Law. The committee carried on a vigorous educational campaign against the measure, calling for action to assure a full legal test of all its aspects, and supported the SWP court action.

The labor movement responded favorably. Both the Michigan CIO and the Michigan Federation of Labor (AFL) passed resolutions denouncing the law as undemocratic and unconstitutional. Local unions and other organizations did the same. The momentum of the witch hunt was slowed down.

The effectiveness of the resistance was demonstrated by the way Millard had to back down last Friday. Continued resistance, focusing this time around the Communist Party's suit, can deal a death blow to the Trucks Law as a whole.

Another revealing side of the Trucks fight has been the role of the daily press here. When the law was passed in 1952, big black front page headlines blared the news about Millard's lying charges and actions against the SWP. Nothing comparable was printed when Millard was in effect forced to retract these charges.

The Detroit Free Press (Feb. 21) carried a small item, on Page 2, under the title "Socialist Workers Win OK," reporting that the "subversive and communist" tag put on the SWP in 1952 "has been removed in Circuit Court," and noting the stipulations entered by Millard. Another item on Page 7 of the Detroit News of the same date didn't even mention Millard's statement that he had no intention of trying to bar the SWP from the ballot. Other papers printed less or nothing.

The McCarthyites get the headlines, the anti-McCarthyites are lucky to get anything — that's "objective reporting," capitalist style.

NEW YORK
Friday Night Socialist Forum
Two Lectures on the Historical Role of Women
Lecture No. 1:
Are Women Inferior to Men?
Speaker:
Evelyn Reed
Friday, March 12, 8 P.M.
Militant Hall
116 University Place
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Questions, Discussion, Refreshments
Contribution 25 Cents

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McCARTHYISM
— The American Brand of Fascism
Hear
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Saturday, March 13, 3:30 P.M.
10 S. 4th Street
Minneapolis — 2nd fl.
Questions, Discussion and Social Hour
Contribution 25 cents
Auspices: Minn. Socialist Workers Party

Seattle Unions Hear Roberts in School Bd. Race

SEATTLE, Feb. 28 — The campaign of Daniel Roberts, Socialist Workers candidate for the Seattle school board, entered its final week today. He has spoken at 18 union meetings to date and several candidates' forums. A busy wind-up week of speaking is in sight.

A statement by Roberts' was published in all the neighborhood papers as part of the program of the League of Women Voters to inform the Seattle voters of the stand of all the candidates. Robert also apeared today on a League of Women Voters' sponsored TV forum.

Three thousand folders containing Roberts' program are being distributed by SWP supporters at union meetings and in the main workers neighborhood. A leaflet, condemning Seattle school textbooks for teaching anti-Negro prejudice was distributed today at various Negro churches in town. In this leaflet, Roberts pledges himsef to campaign for texts that "teach the truth."

The candidate also spoke today at a house meeting called by a new reader of the Militant for her friends and other readers in the neighborhood.

The outstanding work in organizing the campaign and keeping all phases of it rolling is being done by Helen Baker, Seattle branch SWP literature agent and contributor to the Militant.

Last Friday night, Roberts addressed a large meeting of Local No. 33 of the Cooks and Assistants AFL on juvenile delinquency.

Scoring President Eisenhower for blaming the parents for the enormous growth of this problem, Roberts said, "President Eisenhower slanders the parents when he accuses them of neglecting the care of their children.

"In reality, the parents are to be admired for the way they have invariably rallied to the defense of the young people when they are caught in the toils of brutal police and hanging judges.

"It is Eisenhower and all the other politicians of Big Business — Democratic and Republican alike — who are responsible for juvenile delinquency. All they offer the youth of this country is the alternative of war or depression."

The young people reject these alternatives, Roberts pointed out, but don't know where to turn for a solution.

"In despair, they turn down the blind alley of juvenile delinquency — a blind, reckless and self-destructive course."

Attacking the notion that the working mothers are especially to blame for juvenile delinquency, Roberts declared, "The reactionary demand that the woman should stay in the home would only heap injury on the woman on top of the injury already done to the young people and wouldn't solve the problem of juvenile delinquency.

"The millions of women who work do so because of economic need, but over and above the economic reason there are many women who want to work. They find they thereby acquire independent standing in society and a toehold on a status of equality with men. In most cases they become better mothers and happier wives because of working.

"There is only one thing wrong with women working and that is that they don't get paid enough. The solution for that aspect of the problem is not to drive the women back to the home, but for the unions to fight to obtain equal pay for women."

SPERRY STRIKE ANSWERS McCARTHYITE FORMULA

By Art Sharon

NEW YORK, March 2 — When a large corporation during the very midst of contract negotiation provocatively fires members of the union as "security risks" that is the McCarthyite formula.

Carefully timing and spacing a series of some twenty firings during the past month, the Sperry Gyroscopic Corp. of Lake Success, Long Island, has tried out this new, potent anti-union weapon.

On the very eve of negotiation breakdown and strike the Corporation capped off its campaign of intimidation and demoralization by warning the plant's 18,000 workers that if they observed the picket lines they would face punitive measures.

The campaign and warning did the corporation little good. After much hesitation and some confusion, the union threw the protection of its contract enforcement machinery around its fired members, and the 18,000 employees, mostly members of the CIO International Union of Electrical Workers, scrupulously observed the picket lines put up by the Engineers Association which is conducting the strike.

Among those fired are many active union militants and former leaders of the CIO International Union of Electrical Workers with many years seniority behind them. Others were one-time members of the independent UE.

The first firings were not challenged by the union. The company even waited until the meeting of the plant's Steward Council to see what reaction would be to the provocation. When that body failed to respond, the company followed up with many more victims.

This economic punitive measure struck the workers in the shop as being so brutally callous and deliberately provocative that the union machinery was set into motion to call the company to order.

The company's high-priced lawyers rushed into the state supreme court to secure an injunction against the IUE using its contract to protect the victims.

While the union's action on the firings is something short of a fighting stance, it is in marked contrast to the action taken by the GE local of the IUE at Lynn, Mass., which supplemented GE's victimization by expelling the victims from the union in a rump session of the local that denied them the most elementary democratic rights.

The action by the Sperry local of IUE came at the same time as the significant anti-McCarthyite action taken by the CIO Council of Greater New York (see page 1.)

There is a heightened awareness in the labor movement of the menace of McCarthyism, and these two actions in the New York area are signs of a stiffening resistance to the menacing anti-union storm now making up in Washington and Wall Street.

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McCARTHYISM:
American Fascism On the March

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